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ORIGIN SS-07

INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 /008 R

66663

DRAFTED BY:EA/K:DLRANARD

APPROVED BY:EA/K:DLRANARD

S/S-O:JMEALUM

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R 312354Z JUL 73

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO CINCPAC

S E C R E T STATE 150695

EXDIS

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

FOL SENT ACTION SECSTATE WASHDC INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
JULY 19, 1973 FROM SEOUL REPEATED TO YOU QUOTE

S E C R E T SEOUL 4707

EXDIS

SECTO 44

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, KS

SUBJECT: SECRETARY'S MEETING WITH ROK FONMIN

KIM YONG-SIK: KOREAN QUESTION IN THE UN

SUMMARY: THE SECRETARY MET AFTERNOON JULY 18 WITH
FONMIN KIM YONG-SIK. THE DISCUSSION FOCUSED PRIMARLILY
ON THE HANDLING OF THE KOREAN QUESTION IN THE UNGA.
THE SECRETARY AND FONMIN KIM AGREED ON A COMMON
POLICY APPROACH TO THE UNGA, SPECIFICALLY FOCUSING
ON QUESTION OF DUAL ADMISSION, MAINTENANCE OF THE
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UNC, AND UNCURK TERMINATION. END SMMARY.

1. SECRETARY MET WITH FONMIN KIM FOR 90-MINUTE
SUBSTANTIVE SESSION FOCUSING PRINCIPALLY ON
HANDLING OF KOREAN QUESTION AT UN IN THE

AFTERMATH OF PRESIDENT PARK'S JUNE 23 STATEMENT. SECRETARY ACCOMPANIED BY AMBASSADOR HABIB, SNEIDER, BRAY AND POLOFF O'DONOHUE. IN ADDITION TO FONMIN KIM, VICE FONMIN YUN, AMBASSADOR KIM DONG JO AND SENIOR MOFA OFFICERS WERE PRESENT.

2. IN INTRODUCTORY REMARKS FONMIN KIM SUMMARIZED NEW ROK FOREIGN POLICY WHICH HE CHARACTERIZED AS ABANDONMENT OLD EFFORT AT CONTAINMENT NORTH KOREA FOR A POLICY WHICH NOW RECOGNIZES NEW INTERNATIONAL REALITIES. KIM SAID THAT BASIC PROBLEM WHICH FACES ROKG AND US IS HOW TO PROCEED IN HANDLING KOREAN QUESTION AT UN. INDICATED THAT THERE WERE TWO MAJOR PROBLEM AREAS WITH WHICH WE MUST DEAL: THEY ARE:

A. UNCURK DISSOLUTION, AND

B. COMMUNIST ATTEMPTS TO FORCE THROUGH A UNGA RESOLUTION CALLING FOR WITHDRAWAL US FORCES UNDER UN FLAG.

3. ON THE QUESTION OF UNCURK, KIM SAID ROK POLICY IS CLEAR. IF MAJORITY OF UN MEMBERS WISH TO TERMINATE THE COMMISSION, THE ROKG WILL ACCEPT IT. QUESTION IN THIS REGARD IS HOW DO WE PROCEED TACTICALLY WITH REGARD TO UNCURK. KIM BELIEVED THAT A RECOMMENDATION BY UNCURK ITSELF TO TERMINATE COMMISSION SHOULD NOT BE MADE IMMEDIATELY. ROKG WOULD PREFER THAT UNCURK DELAY ANY SUCH RECOMMENDATION BEYOND THE END OF JULY, PERHAPS UNTIL THE END OF AUGUST. IF UNCURK SENT IN REGULAR REPORT EARLY AUGUST, A SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT CALLING FOR TERMINATION CAN BE SUBMITTED AT A TIME CLOSER TO UNGA.

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4. KIM STRESSED THAT THE BASIC PROBLEM WHICH FACES US IS QUESTION OF WITHDRAWAL OF U.S. FORCES AND UNC DISSOLUTION. SAID ESSENTIAL ELEMENT FOR ROK SECURITY IS PRESENCE OF U.S. FORCES, NOT UN FLAG. HOWEVER, UN FLAG IS "CONVENIENT" FROM ROK POINT OF VIEW. FURTHER, MAINTENANCE OF ARMISTICE AGREEMENT IN ABSENCE OF UNC IS SIGNIFICANT PROBLEM (MAC, NNSC, BASES IN JAPAN). FONMIN KIM NOTED THAT U.S. NOW HAS CHANNELS TO PEKING. IF SOME U.S.-PRC ARRANGEMENT ON ASSURING KOREAN SECURITY CAN BE MADE, ROKG WOULD CONSIDER TERMINATION OF UNC. WITHOUT SUCH AN ARRANGEMENT, ROKG WOULD HAVE THE MOST SERIOUS CONCERN. IN THAT CONTEXT, KIM NOTED THAT FORMER

UNDER SECRETARY JOHNSON HAD INDICATED U.S. COULD USE VETO IN SECURITY COUNCIL TO PRESERVE UNC, BUT ROKG WOULD RATHER HANDLE PROBLEM IN THE UNGA.

5. IN CONCLUSION, FONMIN KIM ASKED FOR USG SUPPORT IN:

A. ASSISTING ROKG IN GETTING FRIENDLY NATIONS TO INTRODUCE DRAFT RESOLUTION CALLING FOR DUAL ADMISSION OF SOUTH AND NORTH, AND

B. OPPOSING ANY COMMUNIST DRAFT RESOLUTION ON WITHDRAWAL U.S. FORCES AND TERMINATION OF UNC.

6. IN RESPONSE, SECRETARY STRESSED OUR SUPPORT FOR PRESIDENT PARK'S FOREIGN POLICY INITIATIVE AS A MOST CONSTRUCTIVE STEP WHICH PUTS ROK IN A GOOD POSITION INTERNATIONALLY. SECRETARY NOTED THAT THERE WAS A GOOD DEAL OF ENTHUSIASM AMONG GOVERNMENTS FOR DEALING WITH REALITY AND FOR DEALING WITH PROBLEMS ON A STEP-BY-STEP BASIS AS PROPOSED BY ROKG. HE ASSURED KIM THAT USG WILL WORK COOPERATIVELY WITH THE ROK AND GIVE FULL SUPPORT TO ROK FOREIGN POLICY INITIATIVE.

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7. WITH REGARD UNCURK, SECRETARY NOTED THAT WE MIGHT WISH TO PROCEED DELIBERATELY UNTIL WE SEEK WHETHER WE CAN GET SOMETHING WORKED OUT IN EXCHANGE FOR ITS TERMINATION. HE EXPRESSED A PREFERENCE FOR DELAYING ANNUAL REPORT RATHER THAN LAST MINUTE SUBMISSION OF SUPPLEMENTARY REPORT POSSIBLY UNTIL AUGUST 15 OR THEREABOUTS.

8. SECRETARY SAID WE ALSO OPPOSE TERMINATION OF THE UNC AND, IN ANY EVENT, U.S. FORCES IN KOREA WOULD, OF COURSE, REMAIN. ATTEMPT TO ELIMINATE UNC AT THIS TIME WOULD CREATE PROBLEMS FOR UN INCLUDING CONTINUATION ARMISTICE AGREEMENT AS WELL AS CALL INTO QUESTION THE PAST ACTIONS OF THE UN IN KOREA. IF THE COMMUNISTS DO TRY TO CONFRONT US WITH RESOLUTION ON UNC/U.S. FORCES WITHDRAWAL, SECRETARY EXPRESSED VIEW THAT WE SHOULD BE ABLE TO WIN IN UNGA IF WE START AT ONCE TO GAIN SUPPORT.

9. THE SECRETARY THOUGHT THAT THE ROK HAD A VERY STRONG POSITION IN ADVOCATING DUAL ADMISSION IN VIEW OF THE GREAT INTEREST IN, AND SUPPORT FOR, UNIVERSALITY. IN APPROACHING OTHER GOVERNMENTS

ROKG SHOULD STRESS THE VERY POSITIVE NATURE OF ITS INITIATIVE, EMPHASIZING DUAL ADMISSION. IN CONTEXT OF THAT CONSTRUCTIVE, POSITIVE INITIATIVE, BOTH WE AND ROKG COULD THEN POINT OUT TO OTHERS THAT COMMUNIST SIDE MIGHT AS A TACTIC TO OPPOSE DUAL REPRESENTATION MIGHT ATTACK PRESENCE UNC AND U.S. FORCES. IN TERMS SUPPORT FOR DUAL ADMISSION WE COULD ALSO ASK OTHER GOVERNMENTS FOR SUPPORT IN RESISTING A COMMUNIST MOVE AGAINST UNC AND U.S. FORCES BY POINTING OUT PROBLEMS THIS WOULD CREATE, BOTH IN TERMS OF STABILITY IN PENINSULA AND IN TERMS OF OBSTRUCTING THE CONSTRUCTIVE ROK INITIATIVE ON DUAL ADMISSION. KIM AGREED, NOTING THIS WAS A VERY SOUND APPROACH, EMPHASIZING MOST APPEALING ASPECT OF ROK POLICY INITIATIVE.

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10. VICE FONMIN YUN ASKED SECRETARY'S VIEWS ON WHAT OUR POSITION WOULD BE IF COMMUNIST SIDE ACCEPTED DUAL ADMISSION ON CONDITION UNC DISSOLVED. SECRETARY SAID HE DID NOT THINK SUCH A COMMUNIST INITIATIVE WAS LIKELY. HOWEVER, IT MIGHT BE MADE AND WE SHOULD MAKE PLANS TO DEAL WITH SUCH A CONTINGENCY. IF THE ESED WAS DUAL ADMISSION AND ELIMINATION OF THE UNC WITH THE UNDERSTANDING U.S. FORCES WOULD REMAIN, IT WOULD BE AN ATTRACTIVE PROPOSITION WHICH WE WOULD HAVE TO STUDY IN CLOSE CONSULTATION. HOWEVER, ANY DEAL INVOLVING WITHDRAWAL OF U.S. TROOPS WOULD BE UNACCEPTABLE.

11. ON QUESTION POSSIBLE U.S. USE OF VETO IN SECURITY COUNCIL TO MAINTAIN UNC, SECRETARY NOTED THAT WE CANNOT BE SURE HOW THINGS WILL DEVELOP IN THE UN AND HE DOUBTED ISSUED WOULD COME TO SUCH A CONFRONTATION. IN GENERAL TERMS, HE NOTED USG WOULD DO WHAT IT CAN TO DEFEAT SUCH A RESOLUTION.

12. ON QUESTION PRC-USSR CONTACTS, SECRETARY SAID WE WOULD KEEP THIS IN MIND. HOWEVER, HE SAID HE WAS CONVINCED NEITHER COMMUNIST POWER HAS ANY DESIRE TO BRING ABOUT MILITARY ACTION IN KOREA NOR HAVE WE DETECTED ANY INCLINATION ON THEIR PART TO BRING ABOUT MILITARY CONFRONTATION IN THIS PART OF THE WORLD. THIS IS VERY REASSURING. HOWEVER, THE RUSSIANS AND CHINESE MIGHT CREATE POLITICAL PROBLEMS FOR US AT UN FOR PROPAGANDA PURPOSES. THE SECRETARY WAS ASKED WHETHER THE RUSSIANS AND CHINESE

ACQUIESCE IN PRESENCE OF U.S. FORCES IN KOREA.
THE SECRETARY SAID YES, CHOU EN-LEI HAS IMPLIED
AS MUCH IN PUBLIC STATEMENTS.

13. IN SUMMARIZING RESULTS OF THEIR DISCUSSION,
SECRETARY AND FONMIN KIM AGREED SPECIFICALLY ON
THE FOLLOWING:

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 10 MAY 1999
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: FOREIGN RELATIONS, MEETINGS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 31 JUL 1973
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: worrelsw
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1973STATE150695
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter:
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: 11652 GDS
Errors: n/a
Film Number: P750011-1181
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1973/newtext/t19730768/abqcemyt.tel
Line Count: 226
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, TEXT ON MICROFILM
Office: ORIGIN SS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: worrelsw
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags: ANOMALY
Review Date: 31 JAN 2002
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <31-Jan-2002 by martinjw>; APPROVED <27 FEB 2002 by worrelsw>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status:
Subject: SECRETARY'S MEETING WITH ROK FONMIN KIM YONG-SIK: KOREAN QUESTION IN THE UN
TAGS: PFOR, KS
To: CINCPAC
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005